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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

A CONGRESSIONAL hearing puts a witness to a real test, sometimes a cruel test. Last week two of the nation's highest officials appeared before a joint meeting of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the Senate Armed Services Committee. One made an excellent impression; the other one didn't.

General Omar N. Bradley is one of the least impressive-looking men in town. He talks slowly and with a flat Missouri accent. Someone said that he looks like Uncle Willie. But President Truman nevertheless thought well enough of him to make him the first chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Those who saw the general before the two committees can understand why the President placed such great faith in Bradley.

He can hold his own against the slickest of the politicians. And he does it by saying exactly what he thinks, simply and bluntly. You listen for a few minutes and wonder how a man with so little polish and personality ever won such a reputation. Then, suddenly, you realize that here is a man with real power. His mind may not be a brilliant one (perhaps it is, I don't know), but that he has honesty and character in abundance there can be no doubt. And he talked about soldiers as people.

The Senators were not bored while Bradley talked. They listened attentively. And they marveled over how he held his own against one of their number who tried to make him say a lot of things he didn't want to say.

Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson, the other witness, is a much more colorful figure than Bradley and much more impressive-looking. Certainly Johnson has some force—and unlimited confidence in himself. But despite all the charm and personality that he turned on for the benefit of the Senators, Johnson failed to make the impression that Bradley made. The man's arrogance is sometimes magnificent, and yet his words often fail to convince. He's unlike a politician in his bluntness but so much like one in over-all effect that you watch with fascination to see when he will trip over his own ambition.

Another impression of that hearing—and it is not a new impression, unfortunately—is that our elected representatives, instead of trying to get all possible information for the people, are more afraid to pull back the curtain than the high brass. Senator Connally (D, Tex.) warned the witnesses that they should be careful not to answer in open session any questions which they thought ill-advised. More than once Secretary Johnson took advantage of that admonition to say he would answer a question "this way" on the record and give a fuller answer in executive session. David Lilienthal of the Atomic Energy Commission has had a running fight with the Senators over information policy. The Senators, instead of prodding him to tell as much as possible, stand over him with a policeman's club. They want the minimum, not the maximum, amount of information given the people.

As a result of this state of mind on Capitol Hill it is increasingly difficult for newspapermen to obtain legitimate facts about the workings of our vast government.

John J. McCloy, America's able high commissioner for Germany, was home last week after only a few brief weeks on his new job. As do nearly all our officials who have worked in the Occupation, this man who has been opposing Germans most of his life sounded almost like an apologist for Germany. In a radio speech he tried to gloss over the fact that Nazism is still alive, that German nationalism is again

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a virulent disease. McCloy's job is a thankless one and he deserves sympathy. But wouldn't it be better if our representatives in the country that has caused the world so much turmoil could speak a little more frankly? The job, obviously, now is to rehabilitate, not punish, but in doing the job a little more realism might be helpful. Germany, despite Sunday's election, is not a democracy and it is not soon going to be one.

The Senate has done a good job in rebuffing Senators McKellar, McCarran and McClellan. Nearly all the legislative amendments they sought to write into the ECA appropriation bill were eliminated by on-the-record votes in the Senate. It is pleasant, therefore, to say a good word for Senator Lucas, the Majority Leader, and Senator Hayden, a member of the Appropriations Committee, for the fight they made. It is not easy to fight the three Macs. They have power out of all proportion to the size of their constituencies, and since they are on the Appropriations Committee they can punish Senators they don't like when local matters are being considered. But in the test the majority held against them. It was a heartening victory at a time when faith in the 81st Congress is pretty low.

Notes. The best comment heard in the press gallery about Tom Clark's nomination to the Supreme Court: "Tom Clark is to Oliver Wendell Holmes what I am to George Washington." . . . Now that Herbert Hoover has been canonized, isn't it time to award him with a suitable title? Senatory Wherry might introduce a bill to make him the first American Lord. . . . There's going to be a good scrap among Southern delegates at next week's meeting here of the Democratic National Committee. And the Administration will face a test for its policy of depriving Dixiecrats of their membership in the committee. . . . China experts Wherry, Bridges, McCarran and Langer—and Vandenberg—have not always been famous for their internationalist point of view.

Washington T. R. B.

CORRESPONDENCE

Moral Strength

SIR: I hope you will allow me to enter an objection to your criticism of the appointment of Attorney General Clark to the Supreme Court. Clark is a Texan. Yet the Department of Justice under his control, and at his orders, filed a strong brief as *amicus curiae* to support the position of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in arguing against the enforcement of restrictive covenant in deed, by which Negroes and members of other racial or national minorities have been prevented from buying property in certain areas. For a white Texan to break with the associates of his earlier life must have required unusual moral strength and I submit that that should be counted in his favor.

Too many liberals seem to need a "father image" in the White House that they can look up to; they criticize President Truman for everything he does, including his natural and praiseworthy loyalty to his friends, because he does not measure up to that image, while Roosevelt for some reason did. It seems to me that it would be far healthier politically for liberals to try to wean themselves away from the necessity of having a father in the White House, and to be glad that President Truman and a lot of other ordinary fellows who voted for him are unmistakably on the liberal side of important issues even though they lack glamour.

ALFRED BAKER LEWIS

New York City

Planned Panic

SIR: I call your attention to an item in the *Wall Street Journal* for July 29, 1949:

"CRISIS" STRATEGY will be used to get arms for Europe under the Atlantic Pact.

The State Department plans new disclosures about Russia's war preparations. Diplomats figure another "Red scare" may make reluctant legislators okay the full $1,450 million Truman asks to start arming Europe.

Army chiefs back the diplomats. Their stake: Getting $1 billion worth of aging weapons sent abroad and replaced by up-to-date equipment. The Navy also hopes to transfer some minesweepers and coastal vessels and get new ships. U. S. manufacturers would get new orders next year. Chief needs: Rifles, machine guns, radar, tanks, trucks, small vessels. European military aides don't like "second-hand" goods; they will press for more new weapons.

Odds are Congress will pass some arms aid measure, if adjournment is delayed long enough. The amount will be less than Truman wants, but a start in the direction of big future outlays.

What a striking analogy with the Reichstag Fire engineered by the Nazis! Those at the helm in our international affairs seem apt pupils of Goebbels in the technique of "cooking up" Red scares. Since the great majority are opposed to increases in our present colossal military expenditures, regarding them as a step toward World War III, the game is to whip up hysterical fears of an imminent attack by Russia.

Who will benefit from this shameless and cynical perversion of public opinion? The "striped pants" coterie in our State Department (egged on by the British Foreign Office) together with the "professional patriots" in the Defense Forces, both groups hungry for power, prestige and promotion; the lobbyists and the munition makers.

The subsidized hounds of the press will take up the hymn of hate. Their baying and yelping will be reinforced by the high-priced broadcasters, who will blare their ballyhoo in ever-heightening tempo.

Amid this deafening din, few taxpayers will notice that the billion and a half asked for by the President for arming Europe is only a *start.*

Here is a supreme example of what Swift called "political lying."

New York City PAUL R. HALE

Good Intentions

SIR: I have never had a doubt about Mr. Truman's honesty and to a considerable extent not about his "first-rate intentions" in the domestic field . . . but I have also for years watched him nullify and sabotage his good intentions and his potential effectiveness because "he fails in execution" through persistently appointing to high offices deplorably mediocre, second-class men. . . . It is precisely for this fundamental, overwhelmingly important fact that I resented so much your supporting the President *à tout prix* and your deserting Henry Wallace for this mediocre Chief Executive during last year's election campaign. . . .

And, incidentally, how can one, *in a deeper sense,* believe in a man's honesty when he, although he would have the power, manifestly does not have the *will* to have his good intentions really brought nearer to reality by appointing the right men to carry them out? . . . In any event, it is fascinating to see an intelligent paper follow the common sense of its ordinary readers by just about a year.

Santa Monica, Calif. IRMGARD LENEL

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VOLUME 121, NUMBER 8, ISSUE 1812, NEW YORK CITY, AUGUST 22, 1949 **New Republic**

GENERAL VAUGHAN AND HIS FRIENDS

IN AN ACQUISITIVE SOCIETY, corruption is always a threat to good government. The reason, as Lincoln Steffens proved, is that an acquisitive society offers a reward of money, position and power for evil-doing.

Steffens believed that the prevention of corruption by policing was futile. "Let's take down the offer of a reward," he told his audience one evening. "Let's abolish privileges."

An Episcopal bishop in the audience protested: "What we want to know is, who founded this system?"

"Most people say it was Adam," Steffens replied. "But Adam said it was Eve, the woman; she did it. And Eve said no: it wasn't she, it was the Serpent. And that's where you clergy have stuck ever since. You blame that serpent Satan. Now I come and I am trying to show you that it was, it is, the apple."

Forty years after Steffens made his remarks a Senate committee has discovered a nest of little serpents around the White House—fixers who allegedly sold their influence with the President's military aide for commissions of five percent. The uproar is very wholesome and also rather trivial. For in front of the committee sits the apple, larger than ever, and still unnoticed.

The apple is the $30 billion that the federal government distributes every year and the power of the government to control more billions by federal regulation. General Harry H. Vaughan's friends may nibble at it, but the real bites have been made by others.

In four wartime years the government awarded $175 billion in prime contracts. Thirty percent of this total was awarded to 10 corporations, and 75 percent to 100 corporations. Largely as the result of excess profits earned on these contracts America's 63 largest corporations doubled their working capital in five years.

In addition, when industry declined to finance the construction of new factories needed to win the war, the government provided the factories for industry, at public expense. Seventeen billion dollars' worth of factories were built for private industry by public funds. One half of this total went to 25 corporations, and 75 percent went to 100 corporations. Almost all the factories were designed for use after the war. But they were built by the great corporations, in places and to specifications that made their resale to independent manufacturers very difficult. The few great corporations operated the plants at high profits; they paid low taxes on them; they wrote them off with excessive depreciation allowances and at the war's end bought them for a fraction of their original value or their replacement cost. So a large part of the $17 billion went in an unearned grab.

This is the real steal of the last 10 years, beside which the thousands pilfered by the five-percenters amount to a handful of pennies snatched by a kid from the counter of a candy store.

And of course this steal was entirely legitimate, sanctioned at each step by Act of Congress.

The great opportunities for profiteering are gone with the war, but the legacy of the war and the presence of other government patronage remain. There is the $1.8 billion of war goods still to be sold by the War Assets Administration. There is $340 million net equity in alien property to be disposed of.

There are the far greater sums controlled by the regulatory agencies of the government: the increase in freight rates that can be sanctioned by the Interstate Commerce Commission; the shipping subsidies to be handed out by the Maritime Commission; the air routes and postal subsidies to be granted or denied by the Civil Aeronautics Board; the increased utility rates, new franchises, and new natural-gas lines to be authorized or refused by the Federal Power Commission; the company mergers and new stock ventures to be appraised by the Securities and Exchange Commission; the radio and television outlets to be approved or withheld by the Federal Communications Commission; the five billions in contracts to be let each year by the Armed Forces; the further millions to be granted in loans by the RFC.

The stakes are tremendous, and unless men of the highest ability and integrity are drawn into these agencies and given full authority, good government is always in danger. The truth is that under the appointments made by Truman the performance of government has greatly deteriorated.

"Power and the strict accountability for its use are

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the essentials of good government," said Woodrow Wilson. Since Wilson's day, the power that government must accept has multiplied, while Congress, holding to its archaic organization, has fallen far behind in its ability to require strict accountability.

For example, no handful of overworked men who must be knowledgeable on all policy matters, and expert largely in getting elected, can penetrate the administrative cloud layers which protect the B-36.

And, if a huge German combine is placed on the auction block by the Office of Alien Property, how can an outsider possibly assess the value of its patents, its reserves, its inventories, its hidden assets and liabilities? And how can a Congressional committee determine whether one of a handful of great corporations which make precise bids has been given access to the books of the combine by a friend in the Office of Alien Property?

Wherever the motives and the opportunities for graft are present in government, all the cards are held by the great corporations.

There are the berths kept open for deserving government officials at 10 times their government salaries. There are the lavish entertainment expenses that the great airlines and railroads and utilities can charge off to the public. There are many other methods. And against them the little independent producers cannot conceivably compete.

So, at the tail end, and only at the tail end, of the struggle for the federal apple, the five-percenters appear. Their victims are the small manufacturers who wander through Washington in ignorance of federal procedures and who are said to meet the five-percenters largely through Representatives and Senators. The methods of these agents are almost entirely bluff, because 99 percent of government is honest. Like Chanticleer they proclaim that their crowing causes the sun to rise. And sometimes they serve the real function of carrying papers from one desk to another through government departments bogged down by size and mediocrity.

Government and Congress work and live within the general framework of the nation's morality. The ceiling on wartime incomes which Roosevelt sought might have kept the national morality at the level of prewar years. Instead, the record profits of industry and the unparalleled opportunities for accumulating wealth have led to a get-rich-quick psychology from which not only the middle class, but government and the trade unions have suffered.

Within this general framework, the principal safeguard against corruption is to attract ability and integrity into government service and to give it suitable rewards. Government can never compete with industry on a salary basis alone. It must attract ability by a spirit of adventure and by the inspiration of its top leadership.

Traditionally, postwar years show low performance in government. Its best men are broken or exhausted or disillusioned by years of buying the services of property-owners to whom profits come before patriotism. Wars also lead to inflation which forces the low living standards of government officials to even lower levels.

The Harding Administration was a response to this situation—a conspiracy organized to capture government for the purpose of self-enrichment. No such organized graft has existed under Truman. General Vaughan seems to have delivered the incomparable power and prestige of the White House for a few minor tokens to support his swollen ego.

The blame for the petty corruption which exists falls first on Truman who has identified government with mediocrity, and, loyal to his political training, has convinced the men around him that he will never discipline them for abusing the authority he has given them. The blame falls also on those in Congress and the press who have humiliated government servants and hounded some of the finest men in government out of public life.

A further safeguard against corruption is, of course, the proper use of the power of Congressional investigation. Government has not only been weakened by the archaic organization of Congress, it has been undermined by the rising cost of politics. If a major party has to turn to an Edwin Pauley to underwrite its presidential campaign, then, when it is in power, it is expected to underwrite Pauley's private ventures with public funds. But Congress, which should guard these funds, is under the same pressures. Legislators who spend $50,000 or more to secure a job that pays $12,000 can hardly exercise their role of guardian once they are in office.

"It is the apple," Steffens told the bishop, and he records, that the meeting remained silent for a long moment and then quietly adjourned. His challenge remains unanswered; the Senate has the obligation to reconsider it.

The Senate committee should drive General Vaughan and his friends out of Washington. It should also ask who, in place of the five-percenters, will undertake to help the little men who can't get in. It should investigate the huge expenditures of the major lobbies; and it should also ask how the mutual dependence of

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government and industry is to be safely administered. It should take the lid off the Office of Alien Property and a few other agencies, and it should ask why the regulatory agencies of government always become the willing tools of the industries they are created to regulate. It should investigate the campaign expenditures and commitments of its own members, and it should ask how American politicians can be compensated in a way that keeps supreme the wants of the millions who have nothing to give but their votes.

THE WEEK

A GAIN FOR THE UNDERPAID

President Truman seems sure to keep at least half of his campaign promise with regard to raising wage standards for our lowest paid workers. The usual coalition of Republicans and Southerners has prevented the Administration from bringing additional thousands under the protection of the Wage-Hour Act, as the Democrats pledged they would try to do. But approval by the House of a 75-cent-an-hour floor under wages, in place of the old 40-cent minimum, is a really important gain.

If the Senate goes along, as is expected, on the House action, 1.3 million workers will get raises of from five cents to thirty-five cents an hour. As a result of whirlwind lobbying by dozens of trade associations and sweatshop operators, however, approximately a million other workers are in danger of losing their places under the minimum-wage umbrella.

Southerners and Republicans, with even more than their usual affinity, banded together on a series of amendments and substitutes for the original Administration bill which, if not overridden by the Senate, will remove large numbers employed in lumbering and sawmill work and retail and service trades from wage-hour jurisdiction.

Lobbying against a higher minimum-wage rate has been a lucrative Washington occupation. A list of only the prominent lobbyists working against the measure, drawn up by labor representatives, ran several pages in length and revealed few whose annual salaries were in less than five figures. Lumber and retail men outnumbered all the others in Capitol corridors last week and won more special concessions than any other group.

Promoters of small-time trade associations have made a real killing in recent months frightening small merchants and owners of garages, bakeries and laundries into affiliating with their associations to prevent the federal government from "getting a stranglehold" on their businesses. The flood of confused telegrams from these alarmed citizens which poured into Congress last week was enough to put many an Administration Congressman in a mood to compromise the original bill rather than risk being misunderstood at home.

The Administration is counting heavily on the Senate to improve on what is already a substantial achievement by the House.

SPARKMAN'S HOUSING BILL

The Senate Banking and Currency Committee has surprised the White House as much as the general public by favorably reporting out a bill for housing loans to middle-income families. As soon as the Housing Act of 1949, providing for 810,000 public low-rent dwellings in six years, was passed in July, Senator John Sparkman (D, Ala.) and Representative Brent Spence (D, Ky.) introduced identical bills to do the second part of the housing job, to help moderately well-to-do families build homes of their own. It was generally assumed that this new bill would be allowed to rest quietly until the next session of Congress. But Senator Sparkman took charge and, in a fine display of generalship and determination, steered the bill through Banking and Currency Committee hearings and lined up enough votes to give it committee approval, even though Housing Agency chief Raymond Foley was against bringing the bill out and Senator Taft was doing his best to that same end.

Sparkman is confident that he can bring the new housing measure up and see it passed in the Senate before adjournment. With the additional force authorized by the bill, we should soon be building 1.5 million new houses a year. Slowly recovering from their surprise at the Alabama Senator's coup, public organizations fighting for more housing are getting ready for the big battle with the real-estate lobby. Private builders and home loan companies oppose the Sparkman bill for the same reason as does the real-estate-minded Housing Agency: $500 million of the $4.5 billion authorized by the bill would go for loans to housing cooperatives (for 50 years at three percent); another $300 million would go for direct government loans to ex-GIs; and cities would be permitted to acquire war housing projects for use as low-rent public-housing. The real-estate men don't want the American people to get accustomed to the low interest rates the government would charge.

Harry Cain (R, Wash.), the real-estate lobby's most blatant spokesman in the Senate, has announced that if the Sparkman bill comes to the floor with the coöperative section in it, he will filibuster for at least three days. Administration leaders believe that would only make the issue clearer. It is with Cain's threat in mind, and the possibility of similar treatment of other pending matters, that the tentative deadline for the first session has been extended beyond Labor Day.

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SOCIAL SECURITY VICTORY

The bill to expand the social-security program which the House Ways and Means Committee has finally produced represents a great victory for the Truman Administration. Passage of this measure would mean social-security cards for 11 million more Americans and more than a 100-percent increase in benefits for old people in the lowest-income group.

The House Ways and Means Committee has met every work day since May 5, sometimes for both morning and afternoon sessions, to draft this social-security bill. For once, there was really effective management on the liberal side. Lobbyists for union and public-welfare groups labored successfully to hold the Democratic members of the committee together in spite of the quarrels which inevitably arise on such technical legislation. On almost every test vote, the committee divided 13 to 12, with Chairman "Muley Bob" Doughton (N. C.) voting with the Republicans. It would have been impossible to secure as nearly satisfactory a bill as the one now pending if Jere Cooper (Tenn.) and the other leading Southerners on the committee had not stood firmly with the Administration instead of following Doughton. The lure for them was the generous benefits the new bill ensures for the South.

In addition to bringing 11 million more persons into the social-security system—from the "self-employed," domestic servants, employees of state and local governments and of non-profit institutions—the Administration's program would increase old-age insurance benefits on an average of 80 percent, from 50 percent for some in the upper-income bracket to as much as 150 percent for those in the lowest. A really important improvement is the addition of the permanently disabled to the list of those eligible for benefits, a move bitterly opposed by the insurance companies and which required real courage on the part of committee members. Repeal of the so-called "Gearhart Resolution," excluding salesmen from social security, passed over President Truman's veto by the 80th Congress and later made a campaign issue, was politically as well as socially desirable.

The great weakness is that farmers and farm workers still will not be covered. The 1.5 to 2.5 percent payroll tax provided as a concession to conservatives is ridiculously high and must be revised before the time it is scheduled to go into effect.

House Majority Leader John McCormack has announced that the social-security bill is on his "must" list for action before adjournment. The main question now is whether the bill will come to the floor for debate under a "closed" or "open" rule. Under a closed rule, the measure could only be voted for or against. This is the traditional procedure followed on most legislation coming from the Ways and Means Committee, since that body deals with so many matters too technical to submit to casual amendment. In the case of this social-security bill, the Republicans and the Townsendites in the House, between them, could amend the bill to death under an open rule. The White House and those who have fought so hard to advance the legislation to this point are concentrating on averting this danger.

"Know what? We don't have to be for either of 'em"

LOBBY INQUIRY VOTED

The furor over the five-percenters has accomplished at least one good thing: authorization of a Congressional investigation of lobbying. A bill introduced by Senator Harley Kilgore (D, W. Va.) last January had languished in the Senate Rules Committee until Kilgore and the House sponsors of a lobby investigation thought to point out the connection between their bills and the pressure activities some

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Federal employees appear to be engaging in. At the prospect of good, juicy, bureaucrat-baiting, Senate statesmen who had failed to see the merit of inquiring deeply into the pressure politics of American business viewed the lobby proposal in a new light. The way is now clear for approval of the investigation by the Senate and an agreement between the two Houses on exact wording of the final bill.

No investigation ever had its work so well laid out. Reports under the Lobby Registration Act, just released, show that 261 officially registered groups have spent an admitted $4.1 million to influence Congress in just the first half of this year—$635,338 more than was reported spent on the infamous 80th Congress over the same length of time.

Any one of the three outstanding spenders among the lobbies would be a suitable first subject of inquiry for the new investigating committee: the American Medical Association, leading the list with reported expenditures of $508,397; Frank Gannett's Committee for Constitutional Government, second with $306,297; and the National Association of Electric Companies, which has spent $224,222 on lobbying since January. A thorough look at what these groups have been doing should explain a good deal about what happened—or failed to happen—in the 81st Congress with relation to health insurance, federal aid to education, labor legislation and public-power projects.

THE HERRENVOLK SPEAK

The people of Western Germany voted freely last week for the first time since they chose 16 years ago to put themselves in the hands of Adolf Hitler. The outcome of this election was not surprising and not particularly encouraging, except in one respect: like other Western Europeans the West Germans firmly rejected the Soviet brand of "democracy."

In their reaction from Russian propaganda methods, as demonstrated in the Eastern Zone, and perhaps in holy terror of the Russians as they had known them during the period when the Red Army broke their army and overran their country, the voters of Western Germany went pretty far to the Right.

With only a few districts still out at press time, the count was: 7,305,082 for the Christian Democrats; 7,029,352, Social Democrats; 2,839,447, Free Democrats; 1,379,514, Communists, and approximately 1,500,000 votes divided between two extreme right-wing parties. The practical results are:

¶ Western Germany has elected to be ruled by a Rightist coalition of Christian Democrats (Catholics and conservative Protestants) and Free Democrats (also conservative) supported by the unregenerate splinter parties of the far Right.

¶ The Communists are reduced to parliamentary impotence.

¶ The Social Democrats are in the middle.

The election gives the Christian Democrats 132 seats in Parliament and assures them of solid control, since their brothers, the Free Democrats, will have 36. The Social Democrats come out with 112 seats and the Communists with 6. The governmental machinery thus chosen will go into operation this fall. Theoretically it will function under the supervision of the civilian Allied Control Commission. (The military occupation authorities will be withdrawn when the Germans' own men go into action.) Whether Allied control will be effective remains to be seen.

During the election campaign there were signs that it will not be a happy relationship. The German politicians reverted to their old sin of extreme nationalism. Dr. Kurt Schumacher, leader of the Social Democrats, talked very big about "defending the last bit of German soil." Dr. Conrad Adenauer, 73-year-old chief of the Christian Democrats, spoke familiarly of Germany's having "one of the first seats in mankind's history."

On the other hand, the *herrenvolk* themselves made less noise, seemed quite prepared, as usual, to accept almost anything so long as it is called authority. Approximately 75 percent of the eligible voters reported to the polls. But over the whole of Germany they showed a good deal less spirit for their first free election campaign in 16 years than a primary fight for drain commissioner stirs up in Jim Hogg County, Texas.

OUTSIDE AMERICA

Does the Strasbourg meeting of the Council of Europe mean Europe's birth or Europe's burial? The question is put by the distinguished French writer Maurice Duverger in the conservative Paris newspaper *Le Monde*. And with a bitterness not untypical of those "good Europeans" of the political Right who feel that their day is done, he writes:

> Last year it was still possible to oppose the idea of European federation to that of Atlantic empire and to consider Europe as another possible great power between America and Russia. Today this makes sense only retrospectively. Between the two horns of the dilemma the Europeans have chosen at least for some years—some of them, moreover, without enthusiasm. The idea of a European Third Force died on April 6, 1948, and henceforth Europe is conceivable only as integrated in the Atlantic community. . . .

On the subject of Europe's role in this community, he writes:

> Only Europe can reëstablish a certain equilibrium . . . and put limits on the eventual extension of the preponderance of the community's largest member. . . . Aren't we seeing reborn under our eyes the ancient distinction between noble arms and servile arms? In the Atlantic army aren't we again finding on the one hand the imperial legions—in the form of strategic aviation—and on the other hand the barbarian militias mounting the guard on the edge of the new *limes*? Machiavelli once said that a true alli

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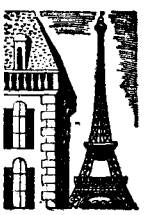
ance was impossible between two princes when one was infinitely stronger than the other—only a domination was possible. Europe alone can prevent the Atlantic Union from becoming the American Empire.

A far more important writer, François Mauriac, France's greatest living Catholic novelist, is even more bitter and more brutal. In the Rightist *Figaro*, he writes:

> If it is true that there is no other way to prevent war than to prepare for it, we are lost, or rather Europe is lost. . . . It is the function of chiefs of staff to move the pieces around on the military checkerboard. But the next game will be the last for this peninsula which gave birth to Pascal and Mozart, Dante and Beethoven, Teresa of Avila and Saint John of the Cross, Arthur Rimbaud and Marcel Proust. . . . The friendly air forces which treated our cities and villages, our cathedrals and our poor churches . . . as they did between 1940 and 1944 obeyed the requirements of modern battle. The last of the last which is being prepared will take care of the rest. . . . And the poets can do nothing more than provide the images to express the anguish of the peoples doomed to destruction. . . .
>
> Europe is like an old horse of the bullfight ring that has served in two fights. It was disemboweled in 1914 by the first bull, and sewed together again. It was even more deeply disemboweled in 1940 by the second bull. We watched it galloping around the arena and saw its trailing entrails. Then once again, for better or worse, it was sewed up. And now its old hide trembles because men in gaudy uniforms once more approach it, to defend it, they say. . . . But all the *aficionados* understand: Rosinante is useful because the bull wears himself out in attacking it. . . .
>
> Of course, the United States has respect and love for this old Europe—but with the obscure feeling that it continues Europe, that it replaces Europe, that it has picked up the torch which has fallen from Europe's hands. . . . We alone as we watch Don Quixote's Rosinante can see the wings attached to its flanks—the wings that make it irreplaceable even though they are mutilated, even though they can no longer lift it above the blood-stained arena and make it fly once more.

Yet the same Rightist newspapers which resent so deeply the implications—as they see them—of the Atlantic Pact are full of anticipatory gratitude toward America for a Pacific Pact which they see in the making. The France which hates the thought of being a "barbarian militia" for the "new American Rome" is delighted over the prospect of being assigned the "international role" of "mounting the guard on the Mekong" —that is, on the northern frontier of French Indo-China. The phrases are from a statement made on his return from Indo-China by General Georges Revers, French Army Chief of Staff, and both *Le Monde* and *Figaro* applauded them.

The grumblings from the Right about France's military role in Europe were drowned in an enthusiastic chorus from the same quarter about France's military role in Southeast Asia, as suggested by the American White Paper and Secretary Acheson's accompanying declarations. Up until now the French have not been doing well in their attempt to function as new Romans, as imperial colonizers. There was a brief period in 1946 when the old Indo-China hands in Saigon and Paris yielded reluctantly to Frenchmen with fairly modern ideas about the future of Viet Nam. On March 6 of that year an agreement was signed with the Viet Nam Nationalists; in July, Ho Chi Minh headed a delegation which conferred with the French at Fontainebleau, and on September 14, Ho for Viet Nam and Marius Moutet for the French signed a *modus vivendi*. But on November 20 the French fleet bombed Haiphong, and open war started. Since then the fighting has never stopped.



Though only the spokesmen for the French Communists go so far as to call it *la sale guerre*, few Frenchmen find it worthy of the nation which produced the Declaration of the Rights of Man. Ugly stories have trickled through the censorship—of large numbers of Japanese and former SS men of Hitler's most brutal divisions in the French ranks, of fiendish atrocities carried out by men in French uniform, of doctored casualty figures. It was an old-fashioned colonial war of the worst type, directed against the nascent nationalism of Viet Nam; and the fact that Washington took a poor view of the French conduct disproved the French arguments that Indo-China was being "saved" from Communism.

In the spring of this year the French began to lose faith in their ability to win the war, and tried "diplomacy" of a sort not unfamiliar in the Asia of the heyday of the British Raj (or in the Norway of Hitler's time). They set up the playboy princeling Bao Dai as a puppet emperor; on March 8 President Auriol signed an agreement with Bao Dai recognizing "the independence of the Viet Namese state." But the forces of Ho Chi Minh kept shooting men in French uniforms. General Revers was sent to the field to pep up the morale of the troops. Paul Coste-Floret, the French Minister of Colonies, is now in Saigon trying to prop up the faltering "independent" regime of Bao Dai.

This background—this record of failure to make the Viet Nam nationalists yield to the *gloire et grandeur* of SS men in French uniforms and a Quisling on a French-made throne—lies behind the enthusiasm for the American White Paper with its suggestion that there will be a Pacific Pact and a Pacific MAP.

Le Monde, whose M. Duverger so much dislikes France in the role of a barbarian militia mounting the guard on the edge of the new frontier, not only approves of General Revers' guard-mounting on the Mekong, but writes:

> One can take it for granted that American policy toward Indo-China has now reached a turning point. It would not be astonishing if it were announced one day that the national government of Bao Dai deserved to be supported in its struggle against Communism. That which France has not been able to get directly may well be given to a right-thinking Viet Nam.

It appears that the Rosinante for which M. Mauriac weeps in Europe may get a new pair of wings in Asia —made in America and made of steel.

PERCY WINNER

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AMERICA AND THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

by J. K. Fairbank

IN THE GREAT REVOLUTIONS it has been characteristic that the *ancien régime* digs its own grave. As though moved by an elemental death-wish, it grows incapable of responding to new problems except in old patterns. Those in power substitute wishfulness for realism. They subordinate realistic calculation to rhetoric and intransigence.

The State Department White Paper on China presents a factual day-to-day record of wishfulness and unrealism on the part of the Chinese National Government, now all but destroyed as a result. It is disconcerting to note that the publication of this 1,000-page record in the United States has also been greeted, by hasty anti-Administration critics (even including New York *Times* editorials and statements by a number of Senators), with a not dissimilar wishfulness and unrealism. Sooner or later, however, this record will be read and pondered by many Americans, in our effort to formulate a new policy toward Asia, and its publication will be recognized as a statesmanlike contribution to the democratic process.

The chief thing that emerges from these 1,000 pages is, I think, the realization that the United States Government has done practically everything possible to save Chiang Kai-shek except actually shoot Chinese for him. We gave him gold, guns, planes and bombs, training and strategic advice, in quantities larger than he could make use of. Our $2 billion of aid since V-J Day has contributed over half the budget of the Chinese National Government, a higher *proportion* of aid than we have given to any other country, East or West. Our top military adviser finally concluded that the only further move we could make would be to fight the Communists ourselves, which he could not recommend as a practical proposition.

This stark story of the biggest failure of history's most powerful nation is not "self-justifying" or "face-saving," but a frank admission by twentieth-century American statesmen that we have as a nation made the wrong approach to the problem of revolution in Asia. Only a fundamentally wrong approach could bring us, after five years of substantial effort and expenditure, into our present position as the discredited "enemy" of the world's most populous nation. No one who reads the White Paper will say we did not try to save Chiang; the question to raise in retrospect is not whether we might have done something more, but whether we were well-advised to try it in the first place.

In other words, can we save the people of Asia from a dreary century of Communism and ourselves from world-wide disaster by the method of supporting anti-Communist regimes? Or should our new policy seek to emulate the Communist flexibility of action, operate on more than diplomatic and inter-governmental levels, and forestall the Russian drive toward power less by containment, through arms and goods to anti-Communists, than by competition—to win the Communists' potential followers away from them before we are shut out of Asia?

As early as 1943 and 1944 some of our ablest Foreign Service officers, men trained to appraise reality in China, began to call the turn on Chinese history by pointing out that the Chinese Communists had developed a more effective technique than had the National Government for organizing peasant support and basing guerrilla warfare upon it. Quite contrary to the contemporary Communist propaganda that the Chinese Communists were "mere agrarian reformers," these American officers saw that the Chinese Communist "political leaders . . . retain their pro-Russian orientation and are, notwithstanding the dissolution of the Comintern, likely to be susceptible to Moscow direction."

They foresaw further that civil war would probably come in China after World War II and that if it did the Communists would win. "Unless the Kuomintang goes as far as the Communists in political and economic reform . . . the Communists will be the dominant force in China within a comparatively few years." The fundamental reason was that the Kuomintang and Chiang Kai-shek, in a narrow preoccupation with perpetuating their power, were giving the Communists the chance to take the leadership in political, economic and social changes for which China had long been overdue.

One suggestion of these Foreign Service specialists was that our wartime and postwar aid, if given *carte blanche* to the Nationalist Government, would encourage persistent reaction rather than reform and make the Nationalists increasingly less able and less willing to compete with the Communists for popular support and therefore increasingly more dependent on our aid. Through this vicious circle we could kill the

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Kuomintang with our kindness. In retrospect it is plain that this is precisely what we did.

When Ambassador Clarence E. Gauss, for example, heard of our first big half-billion-dollar gift to Chiang Kai-shek early in 1942, he suggested that part of it be earmarked to finance the land-reform program which the Kuomintang had often proposed and never carried out. These and other practical suggestions were swept aside by the American sentimentality of wartime (no doubt in part by that curious feeling of guilt which makes Congressmen today still seek to give our resources away to symbolic figures in foreign lands).

Even a clause of the aid agreement bestowing the half billion, which provided that China should "consult" the United States as to its use, was omitted at Chiang's insistence: the Generalissimo felt that any provision for consultation would "adversely affect the public response" to government bond sales and "among his soldiers" would not seem "clear-cut." The Chinese government subsequently used some of the half billion to buy gold bars, but apparently none for land reform. Our queries as to how the credit was used have never been answered.

Constructive efforts of our career officials in China have had to run the gantlet both of Chinese opportunist pressures and of American politics (which has often been used as a vehicle for Chinese pressure). Among the many Americans with no China background who were taken into camp by the Chinese art of personal persuasion, the most incredible is of course Ambassador Patrick J. Hurley. He not only enlivened Chungking by his war whoops and mustachios; he also compounded his intellectual surrender to the Kuomintang politicians by letting himself be bamboozled in turn by Molotov and Stalin, who solemnly assured him on two occasions that the "so-called" Chinese Communists were not real Communists at all, etc.

Accordingly, in 1944, Hurley tried to convince Chiang Kai-shek that "the Communist Party in China is not an agent of the Soviet government." In 1945, he repeated, "the Communists are not in fact Communists, they are striving for democratic principles." To cap this befuddlement he began a campaign of terrorism against his own American staff (the White Paper discreetly omits mentioning that he revealed their confidential reports to high Chinese officials) and wound up by accusing numbers of Foreign Service officers of being pro-Communist. These wild accusations were a fiasco.

Since the end of 1945, our China policy has fortunately borne the imprint of General Marshall's personality. Dewey and other Republicans looking for soft spots in General Marshall's record in China have developed the theme repeated by Senator William Knowland the other day, that he tried to "encourage, induce or compel the inclusion of Communists into the Government of China." The record shows, however —as it always has shown—that spontaneous Kuomintang-Communist negotiations for a coalition government were well under way by the middle of 1944. Between 1943 and 1948 Chiang repeatedly termed the Communist problem "a purely political problem" to be solved by "political means."

Though this line probably became a smoke screen for civil-war preparations, like similar Communist pronouncements, it made seeking a coalition government with the Communists an established policy of the National Government of China at least as early as General Hurley's mediation in 1944. When General Marshall arrived a year later, extensive negotiation had already produced draft Kuomintang-Communist agreements for military reorganization and inclusion of Communists in a constitutional government. This background is what allowed General Marshall to make such rapid initial progress in mediating.

The plain fact is that the armed Communist movement in China was already too large to ignore and the only alternatives in 1946 were either coalition government or civil war. We tried to help create a coalition government, following the Nationalist policy of a "political" settlement; when negotiations broke down into civil war, we finally tried to help Chiang win it.

The historical record, quite aside from the White Paper, makes it evident that Chiang and the right-wing Kuomintang contributed to the breakdown of negotiations because they felt strong enough to win the civil war. Neither General Wedemeyer nor General Marshall agreed with Chiang. Wedemeyer in 1945 and Marshall later both urged him not to overextend himself into Manchuria. But Chiang knew better.

The unsurpassed incompetence of Chiang's militarists, long a by-word in the Pentagon, is illumined by the report of our top military adviser, Major General David Goodwin Barr, who was empowered in November, 1947, to give strategic advice on the anti-Communist war. When Barr urged the Generalissimo to get his troops out of Manchuria while he still could, Chiang absolutely refused to consider it. Since the American-trained armies in Manchuria were already cut off and dependent on air supply alone, Barr then, in March, 1948, urged an offensive to open rail communication. This was set for May but postponed to August and only attempted in October when too late.

The Chinese general staff lacked plans, the generals were appointed for political reasons, the Generalissimo

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by-passed his staff and commanders and ran field operations from a distance, the armies became purely defensive-minded, generals under fire deserted their troops, the troops eventually began to desert.

This bitter debacle of the Nationalist armies should cause us some serious searching of conscience. After V-J Day we completed the arming of 39 Chinese divisions and an air force to go with them. These armies got the major part of the surrendered Japanese arms and munitions and a billion dollars' worth of our military aid. Starting with every advantage of materiel, our allies, the Nationalist forces, are nearly destroyed for lack of a cause worth fighting for.

This raises interesting questions: Did our military aid lead the Nationalists into their wishful over-confidence? Did our aid have the effect of encouraging Chiang to try to wipe out the Communist problem, instead of competing with it by reform as well as by force? Could our political-reform policy have kept up better with our military policy? Or were we perhaps a bit irresponsible to arm and equip a regime which could not command popular support, even by force of the arms we gave it?

Light is cast on this possible point of error in the American approach to China by the White Paper's summary of our economic aid. As is not generally realized, China's industrial potential, due to Japanese wartime development, was about as great in 1945 as in 1937. A wise reconstruction program could have made progress with these resources if peace had been maintained. But the civil war to eliminate the Communists soon began to eat up some four-fifths of the national revenue and eventually gutted the entire economy through the resulting inflation. It seems pretty plain that civil war brought Communist domination in China more rapidly than the alternative of coalition government could have done.

Mindful of the outcome of coalition governments in Eastern Europe, Secretary Marshall in August, 1948, specifically prohibited any American encouragement of coalition in China. But the question may still be raised, were we wise, perceiving the Kuomintang's increasing lack of popular support, to acquiesce in its attempted solution by force? Must we not now develop other means of combating Asian Communism than merely material aid to anti-Communists? In short, don't we have either to go much farther into non-Communist Asia at once and on many levels, private as well as governmental, cultural as well as economic, with ideas as well as arms, or else be prepared to pull out entirely?

ITALY UNDER THE ECA

by Michael Straight

ROME

THE RECONSTRUCTION of Europe is a great challenge for America. Except for Western Germany, the greatest challenge of all is Italy, where a new state is rising from the ruins of dictatorship and defeat.

The ECA program sets out to aid established democracies. But in Italy democracy has barely taken hold.

The ECA program sets out to restore prewar conditions of stability in Europe. But Italy's prewar economy was highly unstable.

The ECA program sets out to modernize European agriculture and industry along orthodox American lines. Elsewhere the impact of modernization may be radical: in Italy it is revolutionary.

For all these reasons the stakes are high in Italy and the ECA program must be far-reaching. This was acknowledged in the ECA report on Italy, which was published in February, 1949. In July an Italian reprint appeared under the same blue cover, faithfully translated and handsomely published by the Communist Party along with its own introduction and comments. It remarks that the ECA report is progressive in character and far superior, in its Keynesian analysis, to any report of the Italian government. It adds that the ECA program is doomed to fail, for the Americans assume that the problems of Italy are technical and administrative and can be solved without reference to social and political forces, whereas in fact the social and political forces that dominate Italy will never permit the ECA program to be carried out.

For all its wishful thinking, this comment contains a basic truth. The ECA program of modernization will earn great wealth for Italian corporations. It also calls for great transfers of wealth. It undermines those who prosper from ignorance and poverty, but arrayed against its social implications are the same forces that have frustrated majority rule in America. For them ECA supplies are a means of avoiding ECA objectives.

To the extent that democracy is established in Italy, reform continues. In the four years since Mussolini was

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strung up, Italy has advanced very far. There is as much or more freedom of speech in Italy as in America. There is no longer any *personal* intimidation. And yet the great barriers to democracy remain.

There is poverty—one half of Italy's wage earners make less than $750 a year. There is illiteracy—40 percent cannot read or write in the area surrounding Rome. There is lack of education—compulsory free education is not fully enforced up to the fifth grade, and beyond the fifth grade it does not exist. There is lack of opportunity—the great majority is bound for life to one village, one trade, one class, one church. In addition, Italy lacks some ingredients of modern democracy: a thriving class of small manufacturers and farmers; a strong and democratic trade-union movement; an equitable distribution of wealth; an adequate system of social services; a sense of responsibility among property owners; a democratic opposition, and an independent press to raise the performance of government by public scrutiny.

Ultimately democracy is an attitude within each individual. In the sense that it means an attitude of tolerance, Italians are among the world's most democratic peoples. In the sense that it means a sense of responsibility for the direction of public affairs, Italians are not yet fully democratic. Except for a few generations, all of Italy has endured tyranny or intimidation since Clement VII delivered Italy to Charles V in 1529.

"Italy," an Italian senator pointed out in a debate in the Town Hall of Rome in which I took part, "is a Christian Catholic democracy." The Church in Italy may not live in the sixteenth century as it does in Spain but it is certainly not reconciled to all the concomitants of modern democracy. The South with its strange rituals is primitive and pagan; even in the North the Church seems to fear that education leads to knowledge, and knowledge to the sin of intellectual pride. The vicious cycle of poverty, overpopulation and greater poverty that threatens Italian democracy leaves the Church apparently indifferent.

The last three years have seen the swift extension of clerical power into the government and politics of Italy. Against it is ranged Italy's other major force, the Communist Party. Twenty-five hundred of Italy's 8,000 mayors are Communist Party members and all the great cities of Northern Italy are in its hands. In principle the Communist Party may respect the ECA's objective of modernization; in practice it is against it.

Under these conditions Italy's coalition government labors. It lacks a well-trained civil service, yet its problems are as great as those of any government in Europe. Beside it works the ECA, whose program is a short-range one although its staff must plan in long-range terms. It cannot work ahead of the government, yet its future depends on its ability to show quick results to an impatient America. It cannot intervene in Italian politics, yet long-range planning requires some political orientation and, since Italy lacks the personnel needed for effective government, the ECA must help to implement as well as to formulate an economic program for Italian democracy.

Inevitably the two groups sometimes work at cross purposes. For example, 35 percent of ECA supplies are now heavy industrial equipment. The ECA, whose purpose is to prepare Italian industry for competition in world markets, tries to withhold these supplies from the high-cost, subsidized industries that Mussolini built up and to concentrate on efficient plants and industries in which a great deal of manpower can be applied to a small amount of raw materials. The Italian government shares these general aims, but it works under heavy pressures that the ECA does not share.

The inefficient industries that should be closed down are highly organized. Union contracts are written to maintain excessive labor forces in each plant by prohibitive severance payments. Italian monopolies, lacking an incentive to lower prices, accept these conditions. Plants that are operating at full capacity maintain surplus workers, and plants that are working at half capacity maintain full labor forces. With two and a half million already unemployed the government is unwilling to force more men out of work in order to lower costs. So, when the ECA maintains that new dock equipment should be concentrated on the few Italian shipyards that can compete on world terms, Saragat, the Socialist Minister of the Merchant Marine, replies that this is impossible.

In other matters also ECA officials find that theoretical solutions cannot always bring quick results. Italy's tax system, for example, is about the worst in the Western world. Eighty percent of its tax revenues are indirect taxes levied on the poor in such a way as to punish all incentive and all endeavors to raise standards of life and culture.

The ECA's main influence is in the joint approval of projects financed by the lire collected in the counterpart funds. Since the ability of the government to collect taxes is limited, and deficit financing is checked by anti-inflation policies, the Italian budget is low, and its programs may be increased many times by allocations of counterpart funds.

In agriculture for example, the budget expenditures of the Italian government this year are $46 million: the ECA allotment is $125 million from the counter-

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part fund. Harry McClelland, the head of ECA's agricultural division, has no idea what is in the new land reform bill of Antonio Segni, Italy's Minister of Agriculture. But together they have prepared a joint program of modernization. There is a great deal of unused land in Italy: some of it has never even been assessed. Under the joint reclamation program the government is recovering five million unused acres, a more ambitious venture than any undertaken in America. And under an acceleration law the government, with ECA support, is redistributing estates.

Italy's land is starved for fertilizer. Supplies are abundant, but monopoly, high freight rates and a 20-percent tax on fertilizer have made its cost prohibitive. Italy has lacked agricultural research. Under the joint program the government is establishing agricultural research and experiment stations.

Italy suffers from poor strains in crop and livestock. In 1947, hybrid corn was brought to Italy for the first time by UNRRA. This year 2,000 tons of hybrid-corn seed were imported by the ECA and sold to Italian farmers through subsidies provided from counterpart funds. The seed will increase yields by 35 to 75 percent, providing 150,000 tons more corn to increase Italy's herds.

The social need for breaking up the great estates remains. The ECA, by its terms of reference, cannot initiate the program, which was promised by all political parties in the 1948 elections. Yet roads, ditches, houses, barns and schools have to be provided long before the great estates can be converted into small farms. This the ECA is supporting through the allocation of counterpart funds.

Housing is another program of crucial importance for Italy. There are 150,000 Italians living in caves and ruins around Naples. There is an immediate need for 13 million rooms. Italy requires as a minimum one million new rooms a year. She is building one hundred thousand.

Under the joint program of the ECA and the government $115 million has been allocated for housing this year from the counterpart funds. One half of this sum is assigned to a new revolving fund. The fund is administered by an independent agency, modeled after the FHA, which makes long-term, low-interest loans for low-cost housing.

In these ways, while its concern is with the techniques of efficient production, the ECA is making direct contributions to social reform in Europe. Its indirect contribution is incalculable. For example, Italy's greatest social problem is her high birth rate. It is perpetuated by the attitude of the Church, but the course of the birth rate is determined less by the women, who are deeply religious, than by the men, who for the most part take their religion lightly. The birth rate will fall when the men learn enough about prosperity to realize that they prefer higher living standards to larger families. Today the birth rate is far higher in the impoverished and rural South than in the prosperous and industrial North. When the ECA raises rural incomes by introducing hybrid corn it may be accomplishing more than the radicals who today are suffering arrest for teaching birth control. Far more important, it is proving to men made powerless by superstition and fatalism that by the application of science they can transform their lives and be masters of their own destinies. From that realization alone, true progress in Italy can flow.

In all these ways the ECA is accomplishing a great deal in Italy, and disproving the Communist prophecy of doom. The central problem for all Europe, East and West, is to increase productivity, and the European Left-wingers who maintain that social change solves the problems of production are as mistaken as the American conservatives who imagine that higher living standards can be achieved without social reform.

The American businessman who becomes outraged by the working conditions in Italian factories brings a new spirit into Italy. The promise of America, and the real meaning of the ECA, is that while the social patterns appropriate for the exploitation of American techniques may vary in each country, their introduction can secure the economic basis of European democracy.

The Communists fully understand this. The real question for Europe is whether we have as clear an understanding. Our intentions are becoming increasingly obscure. If the purpose of the ECA in Italy is to hold the Communist Party at bay, then this can be accomplished for less than the $555 million allotted to Italy this year. A lesser sum, however, would reduce Italy to the permanent status of a pauper living on an American dole. If, on the contrary, we intend to bring about the economic independence of Italy, then the 1952 cutoff date is far too early.

If our purpose is to create a basis for living standards in Europe within reach of our own, then a federation of Europe is the only realistic objective, and our present plans for Italian industry, agriculture and trade will have to be recast.

Until we free ourselves from our mood of isolationism, retrenchment, indecision and self-deception; until we and Europe agree on attainable objectives and commit ourselves to those objectives with a sense of lasting moral responsibility, the Communists of Italy can afford to wait, confident in the assurance that their day will come.

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WHAT IS HAPPENING TO GERMAN YOUTH?

by Bryn J. Hovde

A QUESTION which ought to be of great interest to Americans is what is happening to the rising generation in Germany. We all know, in a general way, what the Russians are doing in their zone: indoctrinating every German child with Communism to the highest possible extent. But what is happening in the Western Zone? Are German children developing an understanding of democratic ideas and institutions? Or are they potential material for a new Hitler, like the Germans of 20 to 25 years ago?

This writer can speak with no authority on the subject; but I can report the ideas of men who should be qualified to answer these questions. I attended, a few weeks ago, an international educational conference held in Germany, the first international conference in the US Zone to which Germans were admitted on equal terms. About one-half of the 200 delegates came from that country; the remainder represented chiefly other Western European countries and the United States—11 nations in all.

It was clear from the testimony of scores of men at this conference that an enormous problem remains to be solved in educating Germans for democracy. There is of course a fundamental question whether democratic ideas can be imposed on any country from outside; no matter what its content, how can any training under such circumstances be said to be democratic? But beyond this, the German schools in the Western Zone leave much to be desired. The sexes are separated at the age of ten, and so are the various social classes. This means that the German boy, in particular, must decide by that age—or have it decided for him—what occupation he will follow, and at what level, throughout his life. The contrast with American ideals, which assume that every man can rise as high as his abilities and good luck will carry him, is of course enormous.

The German schools ignore almost completely what we think of as character training, discipline in the broadest sense, and citizenship. They are, on the contrary, chiefly institutions for teaching trades, techniques and craftsmanship. There is heavy reliance on the wisdom and authority of experts, and this continues to carry over, as it has always done in Germany, into the political realm. The average German is only too willing to let the fate of his city, state or country be decided for him by somebody else who claims to be an expert in government.

It was clear, at this conference, that most German educators were appalled at what they consider the anarchic conditions prevailing in American schools. But it was encouraging to note that some Germans readily joined representatives of other European countries as spokesmen for "the middle way," a happy medium between German discipline and American concentration on individual initiative. This was especially true of German educators from Bremen and Hesse. The State Department *Bulletin* (June 26, 1949) carries an article by James R. Newman, Director of the Military Government for Hesse, that throws valuable light on the beneficial influence of American educators attached to that office in persuading the Germans themselves to democratize their schools and eliminate the "caste system."

Many of the German educators who were present at the conference expressed utter impotence in the face of the nihilistic disillusionment of German youth who seem to want nothing to do with politics or citizenship, and ask only to get a job and to be let alone. This attitude is far deeper than the mere result of German education, past and present. It stems, naturally, from defeat in war, from terribly difficult economic circumstances and, among all but the youngest, from the collapse of the overwhelming trust and confidence that German youth placed in Hitler.

Swedish and Swiss delegates at the conference were able to report that they had had contact with young Germans since the end of the war and had not found them as hopeless as the German educators thought they were. To some extent, it was suggested, the disillusionment of German youth is a postwar phenomenon reflected, in lesser degree, in other countries. It was generally agreed, however, that arousing German youth to an interest in citizenship is a problem which must be solved outside of formal education.

Both German and non-German educators who were present warmly endorsed the idea of a permanent international educational body in Western Europe under, but not necessarily a part of, UNESCO. Such a body seems likely to be created, even though formally it will not be an outgrowth of the conference itself. If it comes into existence, it may help to remedy the aspects of the German educational situation which, to an American, seem so disturbing.

Dr. Bryn J. Hovde, president of the New School for Social Research, New York City, has had a varied career as author, college professor, city official and adviser to the federal government.

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HAROLD L. ICKES: *Tom C. Clark as "Trust Buster"*

THERE IS WHAT amounts to an unwritten law that his Cabinet is so personal to the President that confirmation by the Senate is given as a matter of course. But I know of no custom or unwritten law that requires an automatic approval by the Senate when a member of the Cabinet is nominated for another post.

I have in mind, of course, the shocking nomination of Attorney General Tom C. Clark to be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court. It was natural that his personal friends, especially those who are reported to have endorsed Clark, should acclaim him as one who will measure up to what an Associate Justice should be. But they may be whistling to keep up their courage. It is significant that few indeed regard this as a good appointment. There seems to be a general feeling that even as Attorney General, Clark has not served his country with competence, to say nothing of distinction. Certainly not a little of the hysteria which Red hunters have generated throughout the country, to a degree that President Truman recently called public attention to it, has been whipped up in the Department of Justice. Generally speaking, there is a feeling that this department has been badly administered and that some queer notions have emanated from it on legal questions, among which Clark's offering as to the inherent emergency powers of the President under the Constitution is not the least extraordinary.

Some try to take comfort from the alleged fact that, as Attorney General, Clark has mowed a wide swath among those business undesirables who, in violating the anti-trust laws, have forced the little businessman to the wall and gouged the consumer. I doubt whether the record will show that Clark has made any real progress in breaking up combinations in restraint of trade. He is credited with filing many civil suits against suspected monopolists. But what trust worries about a civil suit? In the end, it can always agree to a consent decree. The economic royalist does not cavil at paying the ludicrously small fine that the Department of Justice usually consents to with cheerful self-satisfaction. Wrist-slapping fines do not even annoy the guilty corporation or its officers, since they are entered on income-tax returns as costs of doing business.

Civil suits might be effective if the Department of Justice would ask for, and the court would impose, such a fine as the late Kenesaw Mountain Landis assessed in the noted Standard Oil suit some years ago. That ran into many millions of dollars, but a considerate Supreme Court took the sting out. Even a fine of $50,000 or $100,000, imposed upon the Aluminum Company of America or the Du Pont empire, which are among those in danger of being attacked by the Attorney General with his feather duster, would mean no more than a fine of three cents to the average citizen. On the other hand, criminal indictments do worry the defendants, and why should not Clark, if he really meant business, have been bringing criminal indictments for criminal acts?

Those with retentive memories may recall that some twenty years ago, a consent decree was handed down by a federal court (in St. Louis, if I remember correctly), ordering the oppressive Standard Oil trust, that had been ruthlessly and brutally built up by the late John D. Rockefeller at the expense of broken and ruined small businessmen, to resolve itself into its constituent companies. But has this decree had the desired effect? There are many in the oil business today who complain bitterly about what they regard as the advantageous position in the oil world which they feel that the Standard Oil companies have. They know that this consent decree was drawn so loosely, so far as Rockefeller and his personal associates were concerned, that its weight upon them and their successors has been that of a feather.

Shortly after he became Attorney General, Clark was strongly urged to reopen this decree. It was suggested that the court might strengthen it in places where time has shown that it has not had the effect that the public interest requires. But this preposterous "trust buster" refused to make the necessary motion in court. There are those who believe that oil constitutes the greatest threat to an orderly world economy today. And what has our Attorney General done to protect the economy of the world?

In industry generally, during Clark's incumbency, small businesses have been going up in smoke at such an accelerated rate that it is a venturesome man indeed who will run the risk of ruin by competing with a great and well-integrated business enterprise. It is safer to take a small salary from the business giant.

President Truman's scraping of the legal barrel for this latest appointee to the Supreme Court cannot be justified even if it could be proved that Clark has performed ably as a "trust buster." That he has is no more true than that he administered the Department of Justice capably and efficiently.

HAROLD L. ICKES

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

MELVILLE: A SURVEY OF THE NEW VOLUMES

by David Daiches

THE DISCOVERY by Americans of American literature, which is one of the most interesting features of twentieth-century American criticism, has resulted in the emergence of Herman Melville as the greatest writer of fiction this country has so far produced. While most of the other critical "discoveries" have been heralded and investigated by coteries of one kind or another, interest in Melville has cut across the literary politics of our time and produced remarkably fruitful critical activity from a variety of directions. The diversity and breadth of Melville criticism is perhaps proof that he is a genuine classic, and not simply an able minor writer whose sensibility happens to attract our generation.

PIAZZA TALES, by Herman Melville. Edited by Egbert S. Oliver (Hendricks House-Farrar, Straus; $3.50).

PIERRE: OR, THE AMBIGUITIES, by Herman Melville. Edited by Henry A. Murray (Hendricks House-Farrar, Straus; $5).

THE COMPLETE STORIES OF HERMAN MELVILLE. Edited, and with an Introduction and Notes, by Jay Leyda (Random House; $4).

MELVILLE'S BILLY BUDD. Edited by F. Barron Freeman (Harvard University Press; $5).

JOURNAL OF A VISIT TO LONDON AND THE CONTINENT, 1849-1850, by Herman Melville. Edited by Eleanor Melville Metcalf (Harvard University Press; $3.75).

THE TRYING-OUT OF MOBY-DICK, by Howard P. Vincent (Houghton Mifflin; $5).

But Melville's elevation has its dangers, both for him and for American literary studies. We have now reached the stage where it is hardly an exaggeration to say that an aspiring critic or scholar of American literature must prove his ability by saying something about Melville. There is in fact a great deal to be said about Melville that has not been said before; but this does not mean that a contribution to Melville studies should be regarded as a trade-union card by specialists in American literature.

Books about Melville are coming to be regarded as of more importance than books by Melville, and every conceivable biographical, historical, psychological and sociological tool is being sharpened by actual and potential Melville experts. Since much of Melville's writing is quite clearly symbolic or even allegorical on one level or another, there is almost no limit to the number of possible "interpretations" of his work. Shakespeare studies, after three centuries, are crowded enough; but imagine how much more crowded they would be if King Hamlet's ghost had the symbolic properties of the white whale, or if Hamlet, in his antic disposition, had, with deliberately symbolic intent, asked his friends at court to call him Ishmael.

Significant and helpful though the reassessment of Melville has been, it is important to remember that Melville does not exist in order that studies may be written about him. It is therefore good to find that, in this latest group of Melville books, editions of his own works preponderate over critical studies. The Hendricks House–Farrar, Straus collected edition, under the general editorship of Howard Vincent, is represented by two volumes—*Pierre* and the *Piazza Tales*. In addition we have Jay Leyda's edition of the complete short stories (including, of course, the *Piazza Tales*), F. Barron Freeman's text of *Billy Budd* (both the novel and the hitherto unpublished short story) and Mrs. Eleanor Melville Metcalf's edition of her grandfather's Journal of 1849. On the scholarly and critical side is Howard Vincent's study of the sources and method of Melville's masterpiece —*The Trying-Out of Moby-Dick*.

Egbert Oliver's edition of the *Piazza Tales* and Jay Leyda's of the complete short stories necessarily overlap in some degree (the explanatory notes are sometimes almost identical), but there is nothing to complain of in this, since Melville's short stories deserve the widest circulation, and the more editions the merrier. The short story was a very salutary form for Melville: it compelled him to come to grips with his inspiration and force his meaning into the narrative by sheer intensity, as it were, rather than by the more dangerous method of piling up symbolic detail. Because the latter method worked so magnificently in *Moby Dick*, we tend to assume that it was the right and inevitable method for Melville; but a reading of *Pierre,* that remarkable failure, dispels the notion.

In Moby Dick all the elements came together in just the right way: his own sea experiences, his reading, his moral ideas, the emotional pattern of his thinking—these fused, as they rarely do more than once in a lifetime even for the greatest genius, to produce a work that is both discursive and perfectly organized. Some of the elements which went to make up the book are discussed by Vincent in his study, but the point to be stressed is that the elements did go to make up the book, they were unified and subordinated to a sustained vision. Melville is not, of course, the man of one book that he was formerly thought to be. But *Moby Dick* is unique among his works. The method he used there could not be counted on to achieve another impressive work, and indeed it did not. *Billy Budd,* Melville's last novel, is written on a wholly different scale, and was first done as a short story.

But if the short story was a salutary

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form for Melville, he did not always meet its challenge and allow his art to learn from it what he might have. "Benito Cereno," his finest story and one of the finest in the language, is a complete success. Here he draws on his sources with consummate skill, and the whole narrative has an intensity so tremendous that the reader feels that any overt attempt to add significance or specify the meaning would explode the story into fragments. It is almost as though he were deliberately trying to prevent this when, with the most cunning literary judgment, he puts the retrospective explanatory narrative into the cold language of an official document. Nowhere else does he achieve this perfection.

"Bartleby" is a powerful story, with a most impressive presentation of the central idea—but once Bartleby has been presented and his characteristic mode of behavior described, Melville has really nothing more to say. The significance of the piece is in Bartleby the character, not in the action in which he participates. Melville's concluding words—"Ah, Bartleby! Ah, humanity!"—are in essence a confession of failure; Bartleby stands for an aspect of humanity, and he already does so long before the end of the story. To project the story to a narrative climax which adds nothing to the essential meaning of the character is to have failed to utilize the possibilities of narrative.

It might be said that Melville as a literary artist works, never through the narrative line, but by stopping that line at intervals to explore its significance by symbolic comment and description. Yet he could achieve meaning through narrative when he wished, as *Billy Budd* clearly reveals and as "Benito Cereno" demonstrates even more conclusively. The fact is that many of Melville's short stories are not really narratives at all, but a kind of prose dithyramb in which a situation is projected and brooded over until it becomes a symbol of an aspect of man's fate. Read as such, "Bartleby" is found to possess coherence and unity; read as such, stories like "The Paradise of Bachelors and the Tartarus of Maids" and "Poor Man's Pudding and Rich Man's Crumbs" are seen to possess both skill and subtlety.

But an author who does not project his meaning through the development of the narrative line is tempted to force a meaning on the events by exclamation or sheer melodrama, and when Melville wrote under low pressure this is what sometimes happened. "The Bell-Tower" has an artificially raised temperature: it bubbles over into melodrama; "The Lightning-Rod Man" is simple melodramatic allegory. Melville was not always able to correlate his imaginative excitement with his handling of narrative or description.

This lack of correlation between the vision and the literary vehicle is most apparent in that vast novel *Pierre*, which, full as it is of remarkable passages and moments of brilliant symbolic writing, has too much melodrama in its very texture to come alive as a significant novel. Further, the melodrama derives from a deliberate and ironic utilization of Victorian notions of sex and marriage, and if we do not accept these notions the irony is lost and we see in the character of the hero only a motiveless self-destruction. But if *Pierre* is a failure as a novel, it is nonetheless fascinating for students of Melville's mind: there was some reason for handing over its editorship to Dr. Henry Murray, a professional psychologist as well as a Melville scholar.

Billy Budd is one of the cleanest-cut of all Melville's later works, one in which symbolic expansion of meaning by comment and achievement of significance by the outcome of the narrative are most skillfully blended. The comment is restrained and indirect, even in the expanded novel version. The narrative moves ahead with a terrifying implacability. The story is more than an allegory (it would be absurd to seek for a one-for-one correspondence between the events in it and some series of "truths" about life) yet it has allegorical aspects and reverberates into an echoing meaning much greater than itself. Freeman, who not only discovered the short story embedded in the manuscript of the novel but has also given us the first trustworthy text of the novel, has made a real contribution not only to "Melville studies" but, more important, to our knowledge and appreciation of Melville.

The journal of Melville's visit to London and to the Continent gives us some interesting sidelights on Melville's trip abroad and the ideas he was developing then, and shows the sources of at least three of his short stories, but on the whole it is less enlightening than one might anticipate. It is interesting to note that Melville had a palate for good ale and an eye for a good London pub.

Howard Vincent's discussion of *Moby Dick* is a conscientious and often illuminating discussion of the book's origins and organization, in which he shows himself complete master of all the relevant scholarship. This is probably the last word—at least on the question of Melville's use of his sources—and it might have been better if Vincent had confined himself to this problem and indulged somewhat less in perfectly sound but unnecessarily frequent remarks about art and artists and quotations from any and every source which in any degree at all illustrate a point he wishes to make. There is too often here the tone of a teacher exemplifying for his students the benefits of wide reading: we would listen to Vincent with more pleasure—and he has some excellent things to say—if he would allow us to take all that for granted.

THE LONG AFTERNOON

THE GOLDEN APPLES, by Eudora Welty (Harcourt, Brace; $3).

THE GOLDEN APPLES is a book of stories which should be read as a continuous novel. Familiar figures in Miss Welty's imagined world—the town of Morgana and the county of MacLain, Mississippi—move in and out of the stories over a span of about forty years. Each story, therefore, is not really complete in itself, since later episodes develop the history of people introduced earlier and are in turn depend-

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ent on their predecessors to establish the tradition of the community.

Despite this continuity and the panoramic view of Morgana (deceptively underlined by a list of inhabitants in the front of the book), these stories are not a documented study of a time and a place in the familiar sense. First of all, the characters are not carefully differentiated; they don't retain much identity in memory. And the details of their lives, except for marriage and death, are only casually suggested. Their social relationships amount to the universal snooping of a small town; everybody watches everybody else. "They only hoped to place them, in their hour or their street or the name of their mothers' people. Then Morgana could hold them, at least they were this and they were that."

This mutual assessment—or minute, brooding observation—is the matter of the book. This, and a picture of Morgana which is less one of geographic or dramatic detail than of language: of peculiar local idiom, of manners contained in speech. These are skillfully established in the opening story, a first person account by Miss Katie Rainey (whose funeral is the subject of the final story).

But over the length of the book something does happen in these static stories: change. Time passes, and time is here the really important character. On the one hand, time is monotony, preserving Morgana in a perpetual summer afternoon. ("Time goes like a dream no matter how you run.") But this is a delusion: its work is gradually perceptible. "The road still went the same. . . . Only now the wrong people went by on it. They were all riding trucks, very fast or heavily loaded, and carrying blades and chains, to chop and haul the big trees to mill. They . . . did not stop to pass words on the season and what grew." And by the end of the book, "what was young was all gone—disappeared wholly."

The mood is elegiac: the stories are all seen in retrospect; their events are long past, and most of the people, then children, are already dead. In the final story (of Miss Katie's funeral) a nostalgic inventory of gravestones effectively reviews the whole book. All the characters are doomed, but only to death, and in the long view of retrospect there is peace, if only the peace of the grave. Their lives are resolved by resignation: "Attrition was their wisdom." For at this distance, "all the opposites on earth were close together, love close to hate, living to dying; but of them all, hope and despair were the closest blood." JOHN FARRELLY

THEATRE: Stanislavski in America

AMERICANS first heard of the so-called Stanislavski system when three members of the Moscow Art Theatre —Richard Boleslavsky, Maria Ouspenskaya and Leo Bulgakov—who had come to this country when that famous company played several New York seasons in the early twenties decided to remain here. They became teachers of a technique of acting which they had learned in the Moscow Art Theatre, a technique formulated by its director, Constantin Stanislavski. Maria Ouspenskaya conducted some classes in the old Neighborhood Playhouse, and a number of young Americans—among them Lee Strasberg, Stella Adler and the present writer—attached themselves for a while to the American Laboratory Theatre under Boleslavsky and Ouspenskaya.

When the Group Theatre was founded in 1931, its directors based their production method on certain aspects of the "system." The Group's first production of Paul Green's "The House of Connelly" made a distinct impression on the New York theatre world, and other Group productions, notably those of Sidney Kingsley's "Men in White" and the plays of Clifford Odets, were not only very favorably received but were considered as evidence that the Group definitely "had something." But it was still a common critical cliché in those days to deny the validity or importance of the "system" whenever a Group production was deemed poor. Frequently, too, suggestion was made that the "system"— a foreign importation— was somehow unsuited to the Anglo-Saxon or, at any rate, the American temperament!

The Group Theatre does not exist today, but if there are any theatre commentators who think of the Stanislavski system as arty, special, exotic or anything but a basic and universally practicable formulation of acting technique, one ought to point out to them that they are at least twenty years behind the times. Such productions as "Death of a Salesman" and "Brigadoon" owe much to the training their directors received in the Group Theatre, a training by no means identical with that of the Moscow Art Theatre but in a great measure indebted to it. This is true too of actors as diverse as John Garfield, Gregory Peck, Arthur Kennedy, Franchot Tone, Lee Cobb, David Wayne, Karl Malden, Marlon Brando—to mention only a haphazard few.

The "system" is not a theory; it is a method of work widely practised, as we have noted, in the most divergent types of production both here and abroad. It is not a "Russian" system; the actors of the Moscow Art Theatre were at first as skeptical of it as the most hardened commercial showman might be. The "system" has little to do with realism as a style; the purest exponents of the system were not to be found in the more or less realistic Moscow Art Theatre but in the studios or derivatives of that theatre which were preëminently non-realistic. The Habimah Theatre in Israel, having been directed in "The Dybbuk" by Stanislavski's outstanding disciple —Vachtangov—is supposedly an heir of the Stanislavski system, but there is actually less Stanislavski influence in Habimah than there is in "A Streetcar

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Named Desire." In fact it is no exaggeration to say that the Stanislavski influence today is more active in the American theatre than anywhere outside of the Soviet Union.

The most authoritative manual of the system is Stanislavski's *An Actor Prepares*. But it is important to remember that no book can convey the heart of the subject because it is essentially a matter of concrete work with actors by directors or teachers in rehearsal or classroom. Stanislavski's recently published *Building a Character* (Theatre Arts Books; $3.50) is a supplement to the earlier work, the difference between the two being the emphasis in the first on what Stanislavski calls the actor's inner technique: concentration, imagination, emotion, etc.; the more recent volume being devoted to external technique: body, voice, speech, etc.

Stanislavski was never a good writer and as a theoretician he left much to be desired. The present book is spotty and may at times actually prove misleading, with passages that appear to contradict the main trend of *An Actor Prepares*. It is characteristic of the times that the later book is presented to us now with an introduction by Joshua ("South Pacific") Logan, an extremely able director, whose work, howsoever amiable and successful, cannot be said to exemplify the Stanislavski tradition.

I enjoyed reading *Building a Character* for its many stimulating and useful pages, but most of all for the image it offers of a man who seems to have devoted twenty-four hours a day and seventy-five years of his life to perfecting a craft every part of which he adored. But I should not bring the book to the attention of the general reader were it not for the opportunity it affords me to point out that now that the Stanislavski system is a practical success on our stage we have almost no theatre to use it in. Our theatre today consists chiefly of very rich raw material engulfed by an economic organization that seems calculated only to destroy it.

HAROLD CLURMAN

ON THE AIR: Room for All

THE Federal Communications Commission has just accomplished a striking feat of acrobatics. Simultaneously, it has taken one long stride forward and one timid step to the rear. The fortunes of television are thus pulled two ways at once.

The advance involves the democratization of television. Under a new system of allocating frequencies (using the *ultra* high frequencies in addition to the present *very* high bands), at least 2,245 television channels are now available to about 1,400 communities in the United States. Until now, the scarcity of channels gave the large cities the status of aristocrats. Under the new system, there will be room on the air for a TV station in Winchester, Tennessee (pop. 3,000), and Kenmore, North Dakota (pop. 2,000). More important still, those channels will be kept open for Winchester and Kenmore until such time as qualified local applicants come forward.

The opening of the UHF bands to television brings another possibility closer. Some of the new channels are certain to be allotted to broadcasters eager to pioneer with color television on a commercial scale. That offers an attractive prospect. The rainbow will give depth not only to the slapstick of Olsen and Johnson but also to the commercial plugs. By moving television "upstairs," the FCC has performed a social service and provided for the commercial interests—a solution both forward-looking and diplomatic.

At the same time, the commission has retreated on another broadcasting front by failing to protect the interests of the non-commercial, educational television producer. It has given that protection in the frequency-modulation field: 20 FM channels are reserved for educational broadcasters exclusively, and since 1946 the number of stations active in the field has grown from six to 52.

When it was suggested, however, that the same kind of provision be written into TV's book of rules, the commission fell back on flabby verbiage to the effect that it would listen to "persons desiring to submit comments or evidence on these matters." This seems like a return to the inane commission comment of 1935 that "nonprofit organizations may be better served by existing facilities," a position that exiled AM educational broadcasting to outermost Siberia.

The educator's FM spot is being reserved; on TV he is apparently in a now-or-never position. So far as I know, there is only one non-commercial, educational station ready to go on the air soon. That one is at Ames, Iowa, owned by Iowa State College (which also runs radio station WOI). Purdue is, I believe, finishing construction of its TV station, and applications have been put in by Johns Hopkins, Western Reserve and Kansas State College. I am probably leaving out of this roster two or three other educational institutions. But that's all there is, as yet, to educational TV on the non-commercial level. And as far as the FCC's ruling is concerned, the government is content.

Fortunately, there is yet time to bring the FCC out of its 1935 reverie. Commissioner Frieda B. Hennock, rapidly tailoring herself for the role of people's advocate, has alerted educational broadcasters with a statement that dissents sharply from the majority viewpoint on educational TV. She has insisted that the commission must not sit waiting for comments from persons possibly interested but must take "affirmative" action by reserving "a specified number of frequencies in the ultra-high frequency band for the

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establishment of a non-commercial, educational television service."

Miss Hennock's dissent declared that "tragic waste" would result "from the standpoint of public interest if, at the outset of development in this field, adequate provision were not made for the realization of the almost limitless possibilities of television as a medium of visual education."

Miss Hennock concedes that the costs of going into television broadcasting are still very high. But she expresses confidence that even the fiscal problem could be met, given imagination and the coöperation of all concerned—including the government and commercial broadcasters. Whereas a few years ago an FM transmitter cost a minimum of $25,000, a new type may be purchased now for only $6,000. But it will do the potential TV educator little good if investment costs fall after all the channels have been assigned to the commercial broadcasters.

I said above that there is still time. There is—but not much. The FCC's hearings on this entire matter will open September 26. Notice of intent to appear must be filed not later than August 26.

However, a letter or telegram to Miss Hennock or to T. J. Slowie, secretary of the commission, could serve as notice of intent to appear. All one must do is state in that notice one's position for or against the principle of reserving TV channels for non-commercial, educational broadcasting.

Already announced as lined up in Miss Hennock's corner, ready to appear and argue the issue, are the National Association of Educational Broadcasters, the National University Extension Association, the US Office of Education and similar specialized groups. Comments are expected from the Land Grant College Association. But I should like to see massed before the FCC on this issue the same kind of general parade that turned out for the arguments against editorializing by broadcasters a year-and-a-half ago. I have in mind organizations like the Radio Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union, the AFL and the CIO, farmers' coöperatives and consumers' and women's groups, organized listener councils, and, of course, the trade unions in the broadcasting industry, particularly those allied with the National Association of Broadcast Unions and Guilds. Individuals, also, may make their own pitch. All can help show the FCC that Miss Hennock's type of "affirmative" action is possible.

SAUL CARSON

MOVIES: Broadway and Berlin

THE SCREEN producers of "Anna Lucasta" have increased the $800 bankroll that sets the plot in motion to a more appreciable $4,000. Otherwise they have put the play on the screen almost exactly as Philip Yordan wrote it. "Anna Lucasta" is a knowing piece of theatre—written to unroll hard and fast, with sharp contrasts, violent emotions and a conflict so familiar in its fundamentals that no one is going to lose his way. It is the story of the erring daughter, cast out by a too-fond father, who makes a prodigal's return and shows up the home folks for sniveling schemers lost to hypocrisy.

Paulette Goddard as Anna and Oscar Homolka as Pa Lucasta play with a surface glibness that underlines Yordan's perfunctory thinking; but because they are explicit and because they look so convincing they will be prominent in the Oscar rumors. The supporting players are really much better. Broderick Crawford, Anna's domineering, cagey brother-in-law in the film, steals every scene he is in—not a difficult task since he is the best actor in the company and works in the most interesting part. John Ireland plays Anna's sailor boy friend with a snarling good humor that gets as much out of the part as there is in it, and Dennie

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Moore is amusing in the familiar character bit of the aging whore with pretensions. William Bishop is painfully stiff as the honorable young man with the bankroll who makes an honest woman of Anna, but it is a regular fall-guy part that would make a prig out of a Barrymore.

The screen doesn't set much of a mark for itself when it translates slick stage plays into film facsimiles, but in this case the result is at least momentarily entertaining.

The new German picture, "Somewhere in Berlin," tries to cram too much into one script, a temptation to which any German director today might understandably succumb. The story is partly about a gang of children, half wild amidst the rubble and playing at war because it is the only game they know. It is also about a soldier come home from a prison camp and struggling against weariness and bitterness to rebuild his life. There is an affably sinister prestidigitator who fades out from what seems at first a key part; there is a crazed soldier who salutes imaginary comrades and heroes and who nurses a little dead child in an unrelated episode of new theatre symbolism.

The plot that emerges from these tangled strands is messy and no one section of it is satisfactorily developed, but the picture is helped to overcome this disadvantage by good, clean camera work and a group of reasonable and interesting actors. Except for the lunatic, who does nothing but pose, the absence of posturing and breast-beating is a happy surprise in a German film. "Somewhere in Berlin" concerns itself neither with guilt nor excuses for guilt and directs the Germans' attention to the considerable building job ahead of them. The moral is excellent, the execution is certainly better than fair and it is a safe bet that the picture will play to empty houses at home. The Germans like to have their fur stroked even more than most people.

Like the other German films that have come here, "Somewhere in Berlin" was made under Russian auspices, but it has been kept aloof from any specific Russian thesis. The propaganda content—that Germany had better get on with its job—is one of the few on which all the occupying powers can presumably agree, and the presentation is more like Rossellini than Eisenstein. The ending, a mass scene of hysterical euphoria on a monumental rubbish pile, suggests a kind of naïve socialist optimism, but that is all.

ROBERT HATCH

BANDWAGON

Dixie Progress

The first sentences under Alabama's new anti-masking law here were imposed today. Two Negro men were given jail terms after pleading guilty to a charge they donned white sheets to frighten two Negro girls. – *From the Chattanooga (Tennessee)* Daily Times.

Atomic Omelet

Of international politics, Thompson [Herbert Thompson, publisher of the Westfield (NY) *Republican*] expressed the conviction that the United States should go to war with Russia at once.

"If we dropped a few eggs on her right now it would save us billions of dollars and thousands of lives in the future," he said. – *From the Los Angeles* Times.

As Simple as That

Donald B. Smith, partner of Scudder, Stevens & Clark, analyzes "the outlook for business and investment" with an eye to "emphasis on the obvious and less elaboration of the obscure." In historical perspective the overall correction to date can hardly be dignified with even as strong a term as recession, he declared. – *From the San Francisco* Chronicle.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Please enclose the original clippings. – The Editors

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PERSONAL

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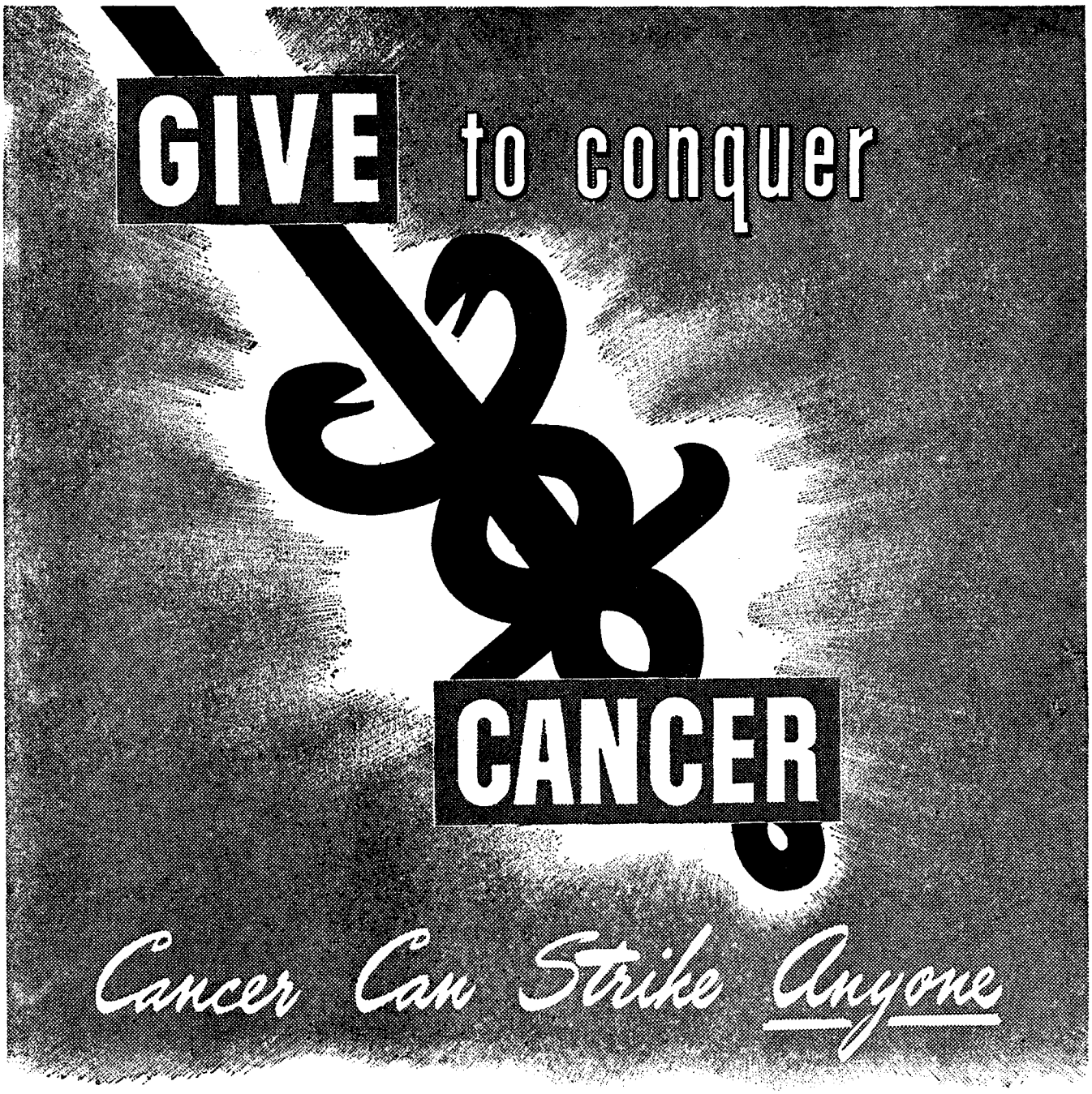

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